593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of
178 organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the [166] younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax,
178 we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has
651 given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief
643 subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly
[423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A
[166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father
621 or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or
[177] sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander
423 into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia
[343] bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum XXVI, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.